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A
True ACCOUNT
OF THE
CAPTIVITY
OF
Thomas Phelps,
A T
MACHANESS
I N
B A R B A R Y.
A N D

Of his strange Escape in Company of *Edmund Baxter* and others, as also of the Burning
Two of the greatest *Pirat-Ships* belonging to
that Kingdom, in the River of *Mamora*; upon
the Thirteenth day of *June 1685*.

By *THOMAS PHELPS*.

Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

Licenced, August the 21st. R. L^{ts}.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *H. Hills*, Jun. for *Joseph Hindmarsh*, at the *Golden-Ball* over against the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*. 1685.

To the Honourable
SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq;

S I R,
HAVING by your generous Favour had the Honour of being introduc'd into His Majesties presence, where I delivered the substance of this following Narrative, and being press'd by the importunity of Friends to Publish it to the World, to which mine own inclinations were not averse, as which might tend to the information of my fellow Sea-men, as well as satisfying the curiosity of my Country-men, who delight in Novel and strange Stories; I thought I should be very far wanting to my self, if I should not implore the Patronage of your ever Honour'd Name, for none ever will dare to dispute the truth of any matter of Fact here deliver'd, when they shall understand that it has stood the test of your sagacity. Sir, Your Eminent and Steady Loyalty, whereby you asserted His Majesties just Rights, and the true Priviledges of your Country in the worst of times, gives me confidence to expect, that you will vouchsafe this condescension to a poor, yet honest Sea-man, who have devoted my Life to the Service of His Sacred Majesty and my Country; who have been a Slave, but now have attained my freedom, which I prize so much the more, in that I can with Heart and Hand subscribe my self,

Honourable Sir,

Your most Obliged and

Humble Servant.

Tho. Phelps.

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

SINCE my Escape from Captivity, and worse than Egyptian Bondage, I have methinks, enjoy'd a happiness with which my former life was never acquainted; now that after a Storm and terrible Tempest, I have by Miracle put into a safe and quiet Harbour, after a most miserable Slavery, to the most unreasonable and Barbarous of Men; now that I enjoy the immunities and freedom of my Native Country, and the Priviledges of a Subject of England, altho' my circumstances otherwise are but indifferent, yet I find I am affected with extraordinary emotions and singular transports of joy; now I know what Liberty is, and can put a value and make a just estimate of that happiness, which before I never well understood, which observation agrees very well with a lesson in Morals I remember I have been taught, viz. that all Happiness here below is only Relative, and has a value only put upon it by Comparison, Riches and Abundance have their Measures of good and convenience, from the consideration of the Miseries and Inconveniencies that attend Poverty and Want; Health can be but slightly esteem'd by him, who never was acquainted with Pain or Sickness, and Liberty and Freedom are the happiness only valuable by a Reflection on Captivity and Slavery, they who are unacquainted with,

The Preface to the Reader:

with, and have no notice of the Miseries of the latter, will never put a due Value and consideration upon the former; of which general Rule, the most part of my Country-men, I am sorry to say, are too particular an instance, who of all the Nations of the Earth are possessors of the greatest Liberty, but least sensible of the happiness; Here the Government secures every Man in the possession and enjoyment of what Gods blessing and his own industry has allow'd; Here even the Poor and Needy, the Impotent, and those whom the Hand of God has touch'd, have a comfortable subsistence, and plentiful provision against all extremities; Here the industrious Mechanick or Country-Farmer, can sit down at his Table better provided than many Barons of Germany, Marqueses in France, and Knights in Spain; in a word Slavery is so strange a condition to England, that to touch its soil, is ipso facto Manumission, and the generality of the People have but little heard, and less understood the miserable State which the most part of the World is now subject to, so that the Plenty and great Liberty of the English Subjects is no great happiness to them, because they never weigh their Condition with what is the Lot of other Nations: Upon this consideration I have adventured to publish this account of the Miseries I underwent, with many others, during our Captivity in Barbary, and of my Escape thence. My design is, Christian Reader, to work in thee by this true, tho' plain Narrative, some pity towards the sharp sufferings of thy poor Brethren at the hands of Infidels; to instruct thee to prize the blessings of that pleasant place, where thy Lot is fallen, and where having only the benefit of Air, thou hast a goodly Heritage; and lastly with me, to Magnifie the Name of God, who in his word, commands us to tell what things he hath done for us, and to shew forth his works with gladness.

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XX.

A True Account of my being taken, and Sufferings during my Captivity.

UPON the 27th. day of August 1684. I Thomas Phelps set sail from the Downs in a Vessel called the *Succeſs* of London, about forty Tuns, laden with Salt, bound for a place in Ireland called the *Ventrey*, where we arrived the 10th. day of September: I stayed there some while, and kill'd Beaf, designing for the *Madera's* and *Mount Serrat*; accordingly on the 20th. of September, I set sail for the *Madera's*, but my design was crost, and my Voyage stopt as followeth: Upon the 5th. of October (being then a Hundred Leagues, West off the Rock of Lisbon) we saw a sail to windward of us, which immediatly we found to give us chase; we made what sail we could from him, and night coming on, we had, for about Two hours, lost sight of him, but at the rising of the Moon, he got sight of us, and quickly came up with us, hailing us whence our Ship, we answered from London, demanding the like of him, who made answer from *Algeir*, and withal commanded us to hoist out our Boat, which we refused to do, but we brac'd our head-sailes for him, immediatly he sent his Boat towards us, when it was got almost by our side, we gave them Three shouts, which so surpriz'd them, that they thought it convenient to retire aboard their

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own Ship; We were not a little chear'd at their departure and made from them with all the sail we could make, for we had not one great Gun, and as for Powder, I believe one single pound was the outmost of our store: In the mean time he was hoisting in of his Boat, I had got above two miles from him, which made me think I was clear of him, and withal that the Ship must be an *Algerine*, she appearing so great, that, according to the stories in *England*, I thought no such Ship could belong to *Sallé*; But I found my self within a little while, mightily mistaken, for as soon as his Boat was hoisted in, he presently fetch'd us up again: We had try'd his sailing all ways, but found we could not wrong him any way; so seeing him a stern, and a thing impossible to lose sight of us, I put out a light for him, notwithstanding I was possess'd at that time (God knows) with fear enough, but I thought, in the Dark, my seeming confidence and resolution might impose upon him, so as to fancy I was of some force; And truly afterwards he confessed to me, that he thought I had six Guns aboard and that I did intend to fight him.

He kept a stern of me all night, and in the morning he put out *Turkish* colours, which I answered with our *English*; then he came up, and saw I had no boat in sight, for my boat was stow'd down betwixt decks, he commanded me therefore to brace to my head-sails, and then he sent his boat to demand my pass; Aboard he was an antient *Moor*, who formerly had been a slave in *England* and spoke good *English*, and who was set at liberty by our late Gracious King *Charles the 2d.* He seeing us in readiness with what arms we had, ask'd me, if I had a mind to break the Peace, he told me I needed not trouble my self to keep them out of our Vessel, for none of them could be perswaded to come aboard me.

I brought him my Custom-house Cocketts, for I had no Pass: The *Moor* aforesaid carried them to the Captain, but soon

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soon after returned, and told me that would not satisfy the Captain, unless the Master himself would come; I made answer that I would not come, that I had done what I was oblig'd to by the Articles 'twixt *England* and *Algiers*: The boat a second time put away for their Ship, and whilst they were hoisting in their boat, I made what sail I could, and was got a mile or more from them again, entertaining better hopes than I was in the night before; But as soon as the boat was in and stow'd, the *Moors* made sail and came up with me again, the Captain ordering to tell me, that if I refus'd to come a board him, he would come aboard me with his Ship; with that he rang'd up my Weather quarter, I immediately put a stays, which put him into some confusion, so that he was forced to put a stays also: He had then no Gun, which I could perceive, I saw his Ports, and his Mast was Man-high: As I came about I run under his stern, then bore away right before the Wind, he soon came up with me, but not one shot pass'd all this while, he demanded of me why I clapt a stays for to run a thwart his halfe; I answered that I doubted he was not of *Algier*, he swore in *English*, to me that he was, else before this he would have discover'd himself, and withal he told me, that if I did not come aboard, he would straightway sink me, and so he hoisted out his boat, in the mean time I boar away, but his boat coming up made me bring to again and brace a back; His boat then came aboard, I ask'd this *Moor*, who spoke *English*, what ship of *Algiers* this was, he very readily without stammering told me, she was call'd the *Tagerene* young *Canary* Commander, I immediately then went into his boat; so soon as I came aboard, the Captain ask'd me why I was so hard of belief, My distrust was such then that I pray'd the Captain now that he had me aboard in his power, to resolve me whether he were a *Sallé-man* or not, he swore to me again that he was of *Algiers*, and that I should not be wrong'd; He made

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me sit down, and caus'd them to set Dates and Figgs before me: A little after the Captain told me that he was made acquainted by his men that they saw two *Portugueses* aboard my Ship, and that he would have them out, and then I should be gone about my business, I told him I had none such aboard, but he would see them two men, so two men were sent for, after that he told me there were three more and then he must have, well to be short, at last he was suspicious that I was a *Portuguese* also, and to convince me that I was one, I found my entertainment presently withdrawn? Thus did this faithless *Barbarian* serve me, until he had wheedled all my men aboard him except two, and then the valiant *Moors* entred my Vessel with abundance of courage, heaving the two remaining *English* over the head of the Vessel into the boat.

Thus were we all Strip'd, the Vessel Plunder'd in a moment, which they did resolve to have sunk, because they were too farr at Sea distant from their own coast, but Immediately we saw five sail bearing down upon us, which startled the *Moors*, putting them into a great fright, obliging them to quit my Vessel with abundance of Beaf and three Boxes of dry goods aboard, which their fear would not give them leisure to rummage for: In some small time the five Vessels discover'd us, when they came within two Leagues of us, had they bore down afterwards with that resolution, that they threatned before, the Pirate would never have stood to look them in the face, but alas like distracted fearful game, every of the five Ships took a severall course, and being now night they all escaped.

After that we cruised about thirty Leagues to the West of the *Northern Cape*, and so to the *Burlings*, but no nearer than Twenty Leagues to the shoar, and therefore I imagin there is more safety for small vessels bound that way, to keep the shore as near as is possible, for I know certainly they never attempt to come near, but endeavour as much as they can,

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to avoid the shoar because our Men of War use to careen at *Lisbon*.

I am likewise pretty well satisfied for that small time that I was amongst them, (altho' it was too long for my profit) that no *Sallé-man* will fight a Ship of Ten Guns, which I found true by observation of a Country-man from *Bristol*, whilst I was aboard: We came up with him and hail'd him, and would have had him put out his Boat, but he refused, and withal shew'd himself ready in his own defence, upon which we were glad to leave him.

So that to satisfy all my Country-men who follow my trade I dare confidently affirm, that if I had a Ship of Ten Guns, and it should be my fortune to encounter any of these *Sallé-rogues*, (who all go under the notion of *Algerines*, who are now at peace with *England*) I would encourage him to send his boat, by acquainting him that our Master would come aboard and shew his pass, (which is the thing they aim at) And when the boat was come to my side, (any man of reason may judge then whether she were from *Sallé* or *Algiers*, but however I would commit nothing should be judged a breach of the Peace, 'twixt *England* and *Algiers*) I would heave in a Grapling and secure the men, all save two, whom I would permitt to return aboard and bring me a Christian, or else aver my Pass, if they will not do that, I am then satisfied what he is, and think my self obliged to defend my self from Slavery, but this I am very confident of, that he will never stay to dispute the case afterward.

About a fortnight after I was taken, we met one *Samuel Crampton* who came from *Faro*, and whom we soon took without any resistance. The week following we took a small Ketch come from *Cales*, laden with Sherry and Raisins and bound for *Limrick*, *John Elliot* Master.

The number of us Christians taken aboard the Three Prizes was Twenty five, besides Twelve which were aboard the

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the Pirate, in all Thirty seven; We who were newly taken were kept in Irons in the Hold.

After the taking of these Three Vessels the Pirate made all the sail he could for *Sallé* to save the spring Tide, which flows at *Sallé* and *Mamora S S W* about Thirty Leagues: To the Northward of *Sallé*, we met a Fleming who came from *Sallé*, and told our Commander that the *English-men* of War were at *Tangier* then, attending Captain *Nicholson*, which caused us to bear directly for *Sallé* and fell in directly with the Castle, where were no *English-men* of War, according to the Advice.

On the Bar of *Sallé* there run a great Sea, which obliged us to come to an Anchor near the Bar, where we rid Six hours; then were we poor Christians all let loose from our Iron-shackles, wherein we had been confin'd for Twenty days preceeding: the Captain sent the Boat, as near the Shore to the South of the Bar, as possibly he could, to enquire what News, there they were acquainted that they might safely come in the next high Water: whilst the Boat was gone a Shore, the Moors, we observ'd, fell all fast a sleep, the Captain also, with his Head over the Rail, upon the half-Deck seem'd deeply engag'd: This opportunity me thought was very inviting, I made a proposal of it to my fellow Slaves, and undertook to do the Captains business my self: The Christians were forward enough to comply with the motion, and Eleven of the Twelve, (which were Slaves retain'd in the Ship before our being taken) they also were willing, if the Twelfth who was Steward in the Ship would have consented, but this sneaking varlet prov'd recreant, and for fear of him the other Eleven turn'd also Renegadoes to this Heroick and Christian resolution; I had a mind to have dispatcht this troubler of our peace out of the way first, but the fear that his fellow Slaves would have severely resent'd it, restrain'd my resolution; the Slaves Name was *Will. Robinson*, he profess'd

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feßed himself a Christian in words, but in deed we found more civility from the Moors than him.

At Four in the Afternoon, we weigh'd Anchor, and stood in for the Bar, we struck Twice going over, but without any damage; it was upon the First day of *November*, after we had helped to moor our Ship, at Night we were all carried ashore, and conveyed to our Lodging, which was an old Stable, but without Litter or Straw, having nothing save the bare dirty Ground for our Bed or Pillow; the next Day we were all carry'd aboard the Ship to Unrigg her, and get out her Ballast, which we did; about Four in the Afternoon, I was sent for ashore to come to the Governour, who pass'd his sentence on us Three Masters, that we should go to his House, and there remain, until we were sent for by the King; we remained at his House Ten days, where our daily employment was to Grind the Corn for the use of his Family; at length there came an Order for us, and all the rest of the Christians to be carry'd to the King, whose Ordinary and then Residence was at *Machanefs*, a place which this present Emperour has set his Fancy upon, and bestows most of his care, and employs all Christian Slaves in Building there; it is distant from *Sallé* about Seventy Miles, and from *Fez* Thirty.

In our Journey thither, I cannot forget our Captains extraordinary civility, in Accommodating us sometimes with Borricoes to ride on, so that in Two days and a half we arriv'd thither: The First night we were not brought before our great Master, but the following our Captain presented us before him, and withal some *Portuguese* Plate, which was taken in *Mr. Crampton's* Vessel; as the Captain gave it into his Hand, the surly Tyrant with a seeming scorn and disdain heav'd it against the Wall, which was the first Action I observ'd, and did a little discover the temper of my new Patron *Muley Ismael* Emperour of *Morocco* and *Fez*, &c. He ordered us to be sent amongst the rest of our fellow Slaves; as we went we were

were entertain'd with the civilities of the place, and welcomed by the joyfull acclamations and complements of the Moors kicking and flapping us all along, which appeared very uncouth to me, who was but a Stranger, but that Night my fellow Captives allayed my wonder, by acquainting me, that what had past was nothing, it was only a futable Prologue to all the Tragical sufferings that Christians must endure there whilst they are Slaves, which were so dreadful, that I could willingly, that very Night have ventured my Life to endeavour an escape; they Painted out to me the Tyrannical humour of the Emperour, both towards the Christians and Natives, in such Bloody Colours, viz. how they had seen him Butcher many Thousands with his own hands, how that none can be secure in his presence for that the varying of a look, a small spot in the Garment, or any such inconsiderable circumstance, will raise such a caprice in the Emperours Noddle, without any other provocation, as to endanger all the Heads before him, and it is very rare if the company escape with One or Two only Beheaded, or Lanced through the Body.

The Second day after my arrival thither, I saw him Lance Seven and twenty *Negroes* one after another, and every Day after, until *New-years-day*, (when he parted to *Santa Cruz* with his Army) I either saw or heard of his inhumane, but yet, through custom, to him Natural Barbarities, Killing and Dragging, but this latter is a piece of respect observed only to Minions and Favourites, Vice-kings and Alcalds; yea his Women are not able by all their Charms to avoid his Fury, but are more the objects of his implacable rage than any other passion: I have been several times in the *West-Indies*, and have seen and heard of divers Inhumanities and cruelties practised there, I have also read in Books, and have heard Learned men discourse of the *Sicilian* Tyrants and Roman Emperours, but indeed I forget them all, they are not to be

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named in comparison with this Monster of *Africk*, a composition of Gore and Dust, whom nothing can atone but humane Sacrifices, and to be in whose court it is much more eligible to be his Horse or his Mule, than to be his *Privado* or Wife of his bosome, from whose greatest kindness my good God ever defend me, for his mercies are cruel: Yea even *Flamed Ben Hadda* who was his Embassadour here in *England* Three years ago, altho' he was received and entertain'd here with extraordinary civilities, and carress'd every where by all the endearments of kindness and respect, and altho' by his fineness and Moorish subtilty, he stole into the Inclinations of the well-meaning and good natur'd *English*, so that he obtain'd the reputation of Ingenuity and candour, Yet the Dog has return'd to his Vomit, and by woful experiment, all my Country-men, who come under his power, find him a harsh and cruel Master, who manag'd his affairs here with deep dissimulation, and now improves his knowledge of *English* affairs, to the detriment and ruin of all the Kings Subjects, with whom he has to do; if it be his fortune to meet or pass by any of them, his custom is (as all the *English* can attest) to salute them with a devilish Curse to the best of my remembrance expresseth thus; *Alli Haztebuck*, i.e. *God roast your Father*: he is indeed reckoned a great Master in the art of Dissimulation and Flattery, a qualification, which seems very requisite in a Courtier of such a Barbarous Bloody Tyrant as his Master is.

But to proceed, my fellow Christians in the next place, shewed me the staff of their life there, i.e. their Bread, which was of Barley, but black, and withal it stunk, the Corn being kept Seven years under Ground before us'd, one Days allowance if sold, would yield only Nine Fluces, which amount to Three Farthings; Flesh is cheap, both Mutton and Beef, but Money is scarce, Two pounds and a half of Beef, are ordinarily sold for a Blankil, i.e. Two pence half-peny,

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and Two pounds of Mutton at the same rate; good white Bread is also plentiful, half as cheap as in *England*; but what is this to the Slaves who have not a Farthing, and not a bit is allow'd us without Mony; I am confident there is many a Christian there, who hath not tasted a morsel of Flesh in Five Months time.

The Country is a pleasant Champion Country, very Fruitful, well Watered, productive of all sorts of Fruit in plenty; we Christians who arrived last, were excused for Two days from Labour, only we were instructed in our deportments to our *Negro*-Taskmasters, who afterwards gave us severe chastisement for our mistakes and lapses: our Work and Daily Labour was continually Building of Houses and Walls; the Materials and Method is very Forreign and will appear strange to my Country-men here; there are Boxes of Wood of dimensions according to pleasure, these we fill with Earth powdred and Lime, and Gravel well beat together and tempered with Water, and when full, we remove the Box according to order, and withdraw the Box Planks, and leave this matter to dry, which then will acquire an incredible hardness, and is very lasting, for we have seen Walls of some Hundred years standing as we were informed, and all that time has not been able to do them any prejudice.

The King himself (what the reason of his humour maybe I never had the curiosity to ask him) will sometimes vouchsafe to work in the Lime and Durt for an hour together, and will bolt out an encouraging word to the Slaves then, viz. as I remember, *Liferus*, that is, *God send you to your own Countries*, but I judge, he either does not speak from his Heart, or else he hopes God will not answer the Prayers of such a wicked wretch; with this sort of Labour I made a shift to pass away all the Winter, and indeed without a quible, I had no other shift or shirt, only the Charity of my fellow Slaves, who were better provided, accommodated

ted me with a covering from the Cold, which else would have endangered my life.

The Reader, I suppose, will not think it strange, if I was dissatisfied and very weary of my condition, and therefore I did often rummage all my thoughts, for some expedient to ease me of this accursed way, not of Living, but Starving and Dying daily: My mind did often flatter me with the greatest possibility of Liberty by running away, and so confident I was, that I discovered my intentions to several Christians, especially to those of my near acquaintance, who by no means could be induc'd to hear the difficulties and dangers that attended such a resolution: In the mean time my Friends in *England* had taken some care for my Ransome, and had given order to Mr *Luddington*, an *English* Merchant in *Barbary*, to endeavour my relief if One hundred and fifty Pounds would effect it, which Sum Mr. *Luddington* acquainted me, he was ready to disburse, if I could cin, (that is, agree with my Patron for my Ransome) for Six hundred or Seven hundred pieces of Eight: I profered the said Sum, but it would not be accepted; upon which I lookt upon my condition as desperate, my forlorn and languishing state of life without any hopes of Redemption, (which only could support our Spirits in the midst of such great afflictions, and Bondage to those upon whom God and Nature seems to have imprest characters of Slavery to the rest of Mankind) appeared far worse than the terrours of a most cruel Death, I set up then my fixt and unalterable resolution to escape whatever fate attended it, leaving the event to providence; I had more than conjecture, that present Death was to be the reward of my endeavours if I were retaken, for Three *Spaniards*, who some Two Months before were taken, making their escape, the King caused them to be brought before him, and with his own hands prov'd their Butcher, and Executioner, which cruel proceedings did wholly dishearten the

the poor Spirited Christians, and banished all such resolutions quite out of their minds : At length I opened my mind to Mr. *Baxter* (who about a Year and a half before, had made an unlucky attempt to run away, but being brought back he had the Bastinado in such a sort, that he could not work for a Twelve Month, having Irons continually upon his Leggs) but notwithstanding, such was his love of Christian Liberty, that he freely told me, that he would adventure with any fair opportunity ; after I had him thus engag'd by his promise, I gave him no rest, until we had pitch'd upon a Day ; we also took into our Cabal and share of our Fortunes, Two *Bristol-men*, who were ready at an hours warning, when we appointed.

There are at *Machaneß* at present about Eight hundred Christians of all Nations, Two hundred and sixty whereof are *English*, several of which have tendred Money for their Ransom, some Seven hundred, some Five hundred pieces of Eight, some more, some less, but the King still put them off with this, that he would clear none particularly, but that they should go all together.

January the First, The King set forward towards *Santa Cruz*, with an Army of about Sixty thousand men, designing to quell his Nephew, who had made a formidable Insurrection against him, in that part of his Dominions : We Christians could not Inform our selves of the certain proceedings of these Armies, neither did we much care, fight Dog, fight Bear, but this we learnt, that it will be Two or Three years before his return, and it is not to be suppos'd that any particular Christian will be releas'd until he return ; besides, there is no hopes to be laid upon the most solemn word and protestation of this swarthy Infidel *Muley Ismael*, for, as I have been inform'd, about Four or Five years ago, by an agreement with Collonel *Kirk*, all the *English* slaves were to be set at liberty at the rate of Two hundred pieces of Eight a head,

head, and the bargain was so far struck, that the Christians were got a Mile out of Town, But the accursed Jews, (the stench and pest of the Nations of the Earth, Malicious to all Man-kind and loathsome and abominable wherever they come, who not only have the blood of the Saviour of the World lying upon their heads, but are accountable for the blood of many Thousands of his Members which they daily shed) These wicked Enemies of Christianity, brought back these poor Christians into the house of bondage thus, they proffered the Emperour as much money as the King of *England* tendred for the Christians Ransome, if so be he would only lend them for a while, to build a City for the Jews, and then they should be restor'd to the King ; The covetous Tyrant soon clos'd with these advantageous terms, and the Christians were turn'd over to the Jews, who imploy'd them Three years in building a City, but when finish'd, see the just Judgment of God ! The Jews were turn'd out, and fore'd to give place to the Moors : Another remarkable story concerning the Jews I cannot but insert upon this occasion : About Three years ago, Mr. *Bowrey* of *Bristol* was, with Twenty sail more, taken by the *Sallé-men*, *Bowrey* had a parcel of Soap in his Ship, which then did belong to the King ; *Ben Haddu* Ambassador in *England* desir'd to buy this Soap of the King, but a Jew out bid him, and so had the Soap, for which dealing the Ambassador kept a grudge in his mind against the Jews, and was reveng'd on them, after this manner, whilst I was there. He inform'd the King that the Jews had impos'd upon him and couzen'd him of Fifty thousand pieces of Eight in the matter of the Soap, upon which the King clapt up Ten of the chief Jews in Prison, until they should either pay the said Sum, or else restore the Soap, which it is to be supposed, hath been sold in Christendom Two years ago.

An Account of my Escape, Mr. Edmund Baxter, and others from Barbary.

After a serious consideration, finding that no proffers for my redemption would be accepted, I committed the conduct of my proceedings to Almighty providence resolving to make an Escape in company of Three more, *Edmund Baxter, Anthony Bayle, and James Ingram.*

On the 29th. of May, agreeing with our Guardian-Moors for a *Blankil*, (*i. e.*) 2d. ob. a piece, we had the liberty to be excus'd from work that day, we went there fore to the Town of *Machanefs*, and having but a small stock of cash about us, *viz.* nine *Blankils*, we laid it out in Bread, and two small *Bullocks bladders*, with a little *Burdock* to carry Water in.

About Three of the clock in the Afternoon we began our journey designing to go as far as an Old house, call'd the Kings house, distant about Three miles from *Machanefs*, resolving to conceal our selves about that house until night, and promising to our selves the greater security, because we knew some Christians used commonly to work there, but proceeding in our journey, we discover'd upon a loaded Horse the Moor who lived at that house, which oblig'd us to quicken our pace, and keep a head of him, for, if he should come up with us, he would easily discover that we did

did not belong to the said house, We made hast therefore before him, and coming near the house we discover'd about Twenty Moors sitting there; which accident of being hemmed in behind and before by these our enemies, put us into a great fright, and had in all likely hood spoil'd our design, in the very entrance, if providence had not presented to our view, on one side of the house, a parcel of *Lime-kills*, to which, without the Moors observation we immediatly struck up, where we absconded our selves by lying flat upon our bellies; about half an hour after came two Moorish women thither, to gather up some loose wood, we considering it very inconvenient to shew our selves fearful, lest we should be taken for *Renagadoes*, spoke to them, but they return'd us no answer, following their business, and taking us, as we judged, either for Moors or Christians employ'd about the said *Lime-kills* so we continued there without any further molestation, until night, when we proceeded on our journey, traveling about Eighteen miles that night, we passed by a great many Tents, whence the Dogs came out and barked at us, and the Moors also savv us, but said nothing, mistaking us for their Country-men.

That night we crost the great River, which runs down to *Mamora*, about Eighteen miles distance from *Machanefs*, and about a mile from the bank of the River, we found a convenient bush, where we took up our lodging all the day following, without any disturbance: At night we found our selves oblig'd to return to the said River, to furnish us with Water, the littleness of our vessel, which contain'd not above a Gallon, being a great hindrance in our journey: We continued our progress Twelve miles that night, which prov'd very tiresome by reason of the weeds and bushes, and the nights were not so long as we wish'd; just about Day-break, we found a convenient bush near to a great Valley, where we repos'd our selves; as soon as the day broke

broke clear, we saw abundance of Cattle grazing in the bottom, with Moors, who lookt after them, but, by Gods providence, none came near us, so that we lay safe all that day, being the last day of *May*.

At night we set forward, keeping the Woods, where were no Moorish Inhabitants, only wild beasts, the less savage and formidable, which we often saw, but they never attempted to come near us, we travel'd about Ten miles that night, and then crossed a River, which supplied us with Water, whereof we were in want; on the other side of the River, we observ'd the footsteps of a great many Cattle, which rendred the place, as we thought, unsafe for us, we made therefore a little further progress in the morning, to the top of the Hill, where under a large Oak we found a bush convenient for our reception that day, but within a little while we were disturb'd in our repose, observing the Cattle to come grazing up the Hill, directly to that bush, with Moors at their heels, with all haste therefore we pack'd up our luggage and ran a mile further, without being discover'd, until we came to a Pear tree, furnish'd with long-grass a round him, there we took up our quarters all that day, being the First of *June*.

The night following, we intended to proceed, but it pleas'd God, to strike me lame with the Gout, so that I was not able to stand, I was forced therefore to remain there all that night, and the day ensuing, which was a great hindrance to my companions, and affliction to my self: The readiest expedient to remedy my distemper, which I could think upon was this, we made a fire in a hole in the ground, and I put my Foot into the hole to draw away the pain, having also a Lancet with us, I endeavour'd to breath a Vein in my Foot, but I could not effect it, for the Lancet would not enter, however, I found some ease by the force of the fire: My company being sensible of the delay, which my distemper occasion'd,

occasion'd, began to be mov'd, insomuch that they told me, that if I could not march with them that night, they must hold themselves oblig'd to take leave of me, which added a great affliction to my sorrow, insomuch as I was the Author and first mover of this escape; That I might not therefore be forsaken by my companions, and in compliance to their importunity, I resolv'd to strain my outmost power.

The third of *June* at night I endeavour'd to go, but in great pain, so that we could not proceed above Three miles, when I was forc'd to pray my Companions to stay but that night, and I did not question, but by Gods blessing, to be able to travel with them the next, they consented, and so we took up our lodging for the remainder of that night, under another Pear-tree.

The fourth of *June* I kept baking my foot all the day in the Ground, till about two in the Afternoon, in the mean while, I procur'd Mr. *Baxter* to make me a wooden Leg, which accordingly he did, I perswaded them, then, to travel about Three or Four miles that afternoon, which would a little ease the labour of the night, they agreed, I travel'd about Four miles with that Leg, and then rested till night on the top of a high Hill, whence we saw a great plain valley before us.

At night we shap'd our course clear of the Tents, and travel'd over the edge of the plain, about Six miles; We pass'd by several fields of corn, the Moors in the mean time hallowing to frighten the wild beasts from them: Crossing of a River that night, we saw and heard several Lyons, some approach'd so near that we could almost have touch'd them, but as soon as we strook fire, which we had prepar'd for that very purpose, they presently vanish'd; when the light began to display it self, we took our quarters for the next day, which was *June* the Fifth; At night we continued our course, when I was still lame, which was a great hindrance to my company,

company, but we were loath to part, our bread also was almost at an end, the consideration whereof oblig'd me to strain hard to get Eight miles that night : By resting the next day I found my self to be something better, but then to qualify my joy for this, Another companion *Anthony Bayle* began to sink and give over.

June the Sixth, We set onward, and measur'd Ten miles : at night, when we came to a great Swamp, there my pain renewing, I fain would have perswaded them to stay but by no intreaties could perswade them, so resolving to part, we shar'd our Bread, which came to two half Rusk a peice ; I endeavour'd to allure my weak wearied Brother to abide with me, comforting him with the expectation of Gardens, where we two more easily than the company of Four, might provide for our selves ; He would not stay ; Being prest thus with the consideration of being left alone, I Resolv'd to put forward, when it pleas'd God, that my foot became perfectly whole and clear of the Gout ; That night we travel'd over a high barren Hill, where we fancied we heard the Sufs and noise of the Sea, which encourag'd us to mend our pace until we met with a Garden, where we gather'd about a dozen of small Pumpkins ; a very comfortable assistance to us, now that our Bread was all spent, for some we eat raw, and some we roasted in the ground, whereby we found our selves considerably refresh'd : That night we made no more then Eight miles, for meeting with a great Oak which was blown down, we thought it inconvenient to overslip such an advantageous retirement for the next day, which we were the more desirous off, because we heard a great many *Moors*, tho' we could not see them.

All the next day we lay still and with exceeding contentment we heard the noise of the Sea, at night we put on and came to the shoar, where we found whereabout we then were, viz. to the Southward of *Mamora*, we directed our

Course

Course then Northward for Two miles, when we could discern the Castle, but knowing that we could not go to the Northward of the Castle, because the great River goes directly up into the Country, we turn'd back about a mile, and finding a convenient bush, we rested there all the next day, hearing and seeing a great many Cattle, but none came near us.

June the Eighth, We gathered about half a Peck of Snail's, and caught a Land-Tortois, which we roasted and eat heartily, that day also, we saw a Ship in the Offing, when night was come, we made down towards the Castle, and before we were aware we fell upon a Moor making a fire, which forc'd us to draw back, the Moor not discerning us, we fetcht then a compass, and by another way came down to the Castle, there we found a strong watch, which did wholly discourage our expectations of relief from that place, so we set up our Resolutions for *Sallé*, about Eighteen or Twenty miles to the Southward, to see what good could be done there, But before we parted with *Mamora*, we made bold with a little Barley and Guinny corn, growing under the Castle, of each whereof we gathered about a quarter of a Peck, to serve our necessities, and then we betook our selves to our former nights refuge, the Bush, and after having consulted how to steer our course for *Sallé*, the result whereof was along the Sea-side, we rested all the next day without disturbance.

June the Ninth, We travel'd along the Sea-side, where we saw a great deal of Raft-timber, we concluded therefore, seeing the Ship in the Offing, to make a Raft, which accordingly we did, and put off with it, but it would not swim, boyart with us all, we came therefore a shore, and cut all our Lashings, leaving it to the mercy of the Sea : We travel'd Five miles towards *Sallé* that night, fearing least by staying long thereabout we should be discovered, for our foot-

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ing and traying of the Timber had made such an Impression in the sand as if an Hundred men had been there; That night we took up our quarters in a Fig-tree, about Seven miles short of *Sallé* where was no Inhabitant.

June the Tenth at night, we made forward to *Sallé*, in the Road, we fell upon a parcel of Tents, where though the Dogs were ready to seize us, and the Moors themselves call'd to us, We made no answer and travel'd on, without any farther trouble or danger, until we came to *Sallé*, as soon as we came thither, we made towards the Gardens, and gathered some Pumpkins, and because night was far spent, we retreated about a mile out of Town, to find some place which might secure us from discovery; we pitch'd upon a Bush in a great Valley, wherein we resolv'd to enclose our selves the day following: About Eleven of the clock of that day, we espied a Boy with a Dog keeping of Sheep, but yet not forgetting his game, which was hunting of Partridges; He beat the bush wherein we were lodg'd, and threw in Stones, and the Dog also did his part, barking and coursing about the bush, but by miracle as we thought, we were not espied, tho' we discover'd abundance of fear amongst our selves, for if we had been taken notice of, we could not otherwise consult our own safety, than by the death of that poor silly Lad.

The eleventh day being past, at night we made a descent to the River of *Sallé*, about a mile above the Town, where we found a Boat, but could not with all our strength launch her: *Anthony Bayle* and I who were the only swimmers in our company, made over to the *South-side* of the River, to see what purchase we could make there, we found indeed Three boats, but they were all aground, so that we could do no good with them; But in searching about the new Ships, (which Five in number are building there) we found two Oares, with which we swam over to our consorts, and all.

all together we went down by the Rivers side, to the Harbours mouth, but we could meet with no boat to put our Oares in; We saw two *Dutch-men* in the River, but they kept a diligent watch, which hindred us from carrying away their boat; We concluded therefore to bury our Oares in the sand at some remarkable place, and so we betook our selves to find out a sanctuary for the day following; We found a Fig-tree full of leaves, in an unfrequented place, as we thought, on the *North-side* of the River, yet within call of the Ships, vvhich then vvere a building? Under the Covert of this little Tree, tho' surrounded vvith Enemies and dangers, vve resolv'd to expect the protection of the next day; The Reader may possibly judge this an instance of a Roman-tick courage, and an effect rather of rash boldness than prudent consideration; Truly, he is in the right, for vve our selves vvere of the same mind, about the middle of the next day, upon this occasion, a Moor vvho had nevly vvasht his cloaths, directs his course directly to our Tree, and there hangs up his *Al hage* to dry vvhist he himself sat dovvn not far off, to lovvse himself, an't please you; if providence did hinder him from discerning us, I assure you it vvas not for vvant of provocation, as vve all confest, and indeed I never in my life vvas in such a trembling fit, as that lovvsie Rascal put me into.

The Twelfth day of *June* being past, at night vve came dovvn again to the River, to look after a boat, vvwhich vve had observ'd vvas moor'd in the River, half a mile higher than vvhere vve found the Oares, this, vve vvho could swim found and brought to our consorts, We pad'd her dovvn the River close by the *Dutch-men*, vvho savv us, but said nothing, then vve put a shore, and fetcht our Oares, vve continued padling, until vve had past a *French-man*, lying at the Bars mouth, vvho plainly savv us, but said nothing; So soon as vve had left him behind us, vve shipp'd out our Oares, and

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Rovving right into the Sea, our course by the *North-Star* vvas *West-North-West*: vvhén vve had Rovved Four Miles or thereabout, vve discern'd a Ship at Anchor, vvhich oblig'd us to alter our course, and Rovv *Northward*, until vve had past her, fearing least she might be a *Sallé*-Ship, and vve had learn'd at *Machane's* that Twvo of them vvere a cruizing at that time, and not yet come in, therefore it vvas, that in distrust of this Ship, vve altered our course; vve Rovved about Twvo Leagues vvithout the Ship, and lay upon our Oares; vvhen Day broke up clear, vve savv the Ship vvith her Sailes loose, I then acquainted my Consorts, that in my judgment, if the Ship vvere of *Sallé* she vvould make in for the *Bar* at that time, because the Tide and the Sea breeze vvere then both favourable, it being High-vvater at Seven of the Clock, but if she vvere an *English* Man of War, as vve incessantly vvish'd, then vve thought the Sea-breeze vvould make her stand off to Sea: Notwithstanding our opinions were various, and we were doubtful what to do; at length I perswaded my consorts, with much ado, to row in and make her hull, then the Ship stood off, and at length savv us, we pull'd aboard, and found her to be the *Lark-Friggot* Captain *Leighton* Commander; after some Examination and Discourse about the Methods and Means of our Escape, I propounded to the Captain a design which had newly taken strong possession of my Fancy, it was this, that if he would accommodate me with his Boat, and those belonging to the other Two Men of War, which were in Company, I would undertake to Pilot them in, and to burn what Ships were then at *Mamora*; The Captain immediately stood to the *Northward*, and came up vvith the other Two Ships, which were the *Bonaventure* and the *Gray-hound*; The Admiral was then Sick at *Cales*, so Captain *Macdonald* being Eldest Captain, we went aboard him, and sending for Mr. *Fairborne*, who was then Captain under

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Captain *Priestman*, who was Sick as above said, they held a Council about those propositions which I had made, at first they seemed unpracticable, by reason of many difficulties, but especially of the *Bar*, which is worse than that of *Sallé*; But then when upon Second thoughts they considered the forwardness of Men, who but that very Day had escaped a heavy Slavery, and yet were willing that very Night to engage in the action, they concluded it both possible and feasible, so they entertain'd vvith approbation what I had propos'd; After which I immediately return'd vvith Captain *Leighton* aboard the *Lark*, and communicated the result of the Council vvith my Comrade Mr. *Baxter*, who was heartily pleas'd vvith what was undertaken, and willing to go along, so he was ordered to go in the *Bonaventure's* Boat, and was very serviceable, and who was better acquainted vvith that *Bar*, than I was. Immediately orders were given to shave some Deal-boards, and saw some Tarr-barrels, and make ready vvith all expedition; by Seven at Night, all things were in readiness, the Friggots were riding Two Leagues from Shore, orders were given that the Boat in which I was, vvith the *Gray-hound's*, should go a head, Commanded by Captain *Macdonald*, who behaved himself indeed vvith great Courage and Resolution, and the rest had orders to follow us; there were Three Barges in all, and one Yawl, the number of Men concern'd in the action, was Forty two, who all had strict charge upon pain of Death, not to seek after Plunder, which was punctually observ'd. About Eight at Night we put off from the Ships, and betwixt Nine and Ten, we fell a little to the *Northward* of the *Bar*, but by Mr. *Baxter's* assistance, we quickly righted our selves, and found the *Bar*; there was a great noise upon the Shore, all thereabout had taken the Alarm, which did nothing discourage us, we proceeded lustily, vvithout any concernment at their hideous outcries, which when the Moors perceiv'd, and that we advanc'd vvith

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undaunted Resolutions, they thought it best to flie betimes and secure themselves and their Castle ; in the mean time we pursu'd our design towards the Ships, aboard which, there being a great many Lights, we observ'd the Moors looking over the sides of the first we came to, which was the bigger of the Two, they call'd to us, to keep off, we answered them with about Twenty Granado-shells, which soon drove them overboard ; they had not far indeed to escape, for the Castle Wall was within a Boats length of the Ship, so without any difficulty we presently entred ; one Moor we found aboard, who was presently cut in pieces, another was shot in the head, endeavouring to escape upon the Cable, we were not long in taking in our Shavings and Tarr-barrels, and so set her on fire in several places, she being very apt to receive what we design'd, for there were several Barrels of Tar upon the Deck, and she was newly Tarr'd as if on purpose ; whilst we were setting her on fire, we heard a noise of some people in the Hold, we opened the Skuttles, and thereby sav'd the lives of Four Christians, Three Dutch-men and One French, who told us that the Ship on fire was Admiral and belong'd to *Aly-Hackum*, and the other which we soon afterwards serv'd with the same sauce, had the Name of *Plumage Cortibe*, which was the very Ship, which in *October* last took me Captive, I cannot deny that I was possessed with an extraordinary satisfaction to see this Ship on fire, and I could not but admire the wonderful providence of God, to whom alone Vengeance belongeth, in vindicating my cause, and making me an unwitting instrument of revenge, for the injuries I received from the owners of this Vessel.

Such was the fierceness of the Flames, that vve were forc'd to keep off from the Ships sides, vvhcreby vve became obnoxious to the shot of the Moors, vvho from the Walls of the Castle made a great firing upon us, both of small and great Guns, but vvith little or no Execution, for
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our Men, by the light of the great fire having them in perfect view upon the Walls, made smart returns upon them, firing incessantly upon them, and with that eagerness, that they quite neglected their Oares, so that if the Tide had not turn'd to Ebb, we should have run a great risque, our Men were so full of joy, hooping and hallowing at the sight of so desirable a Bon-fire, that they never minded the dangers they might be subject to ; we were therefore forced to tow the *Bonaventure's* Yawl, who had lost all her Oares. In all this Action we had but one Man mortally wounded, and two or three more slightly hurt ; after we had compleated our business, and absolutely destroyed these Ships, we return'd out of the River, over the *Bar*, and pull'd aboard the *Friggots*, Captain *Macdonald* received us kindly, and gratified us with the entertainment of his Ship very frankly, aboard which we staid until we came to *Cales*, there we went ashore, designing a passage for *England* with the first opportunity ; Captain *Macdonald* gave us Certificates of our service in the late Action, and then Mr. *Baxter* and I took leave of him ; we did not stay long at *Cales*, before we met with an opportunity for *England* aboard Captain *Atkins*, who came from *Leghorn* and was bound for *London*, who very willingly granted us passage with him, and gave us civil and welcome entertainment, whom God reward and all other our Benefactors, particularly (tho' to some Readers it may seem immaterial, yet when occasion offers, not to remember, to all good Men will appear unthankful, and I had rather be tax'd with impertinence than ingratitude) Mr. *Hodges*, who bestowed upon us Four pieces of Eight in our necessity, God return his Charity into his own Bosome with blessing and encrease, and honest Captain *Gutteridge*, who sent a Barrel of Beaf and a Hundred weight of Bread, lest we should lie too chargeable upon Captain *Atkins* in our
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passage home, who the First day of July 1685. ^{for}
Sail from *Cadiz*, and arrived in the *Doune* the 26th. of
that Month.

Thus have I given a short and plain account
of my Captivity and Escape, with the circum-
stances that attended it, and tho' possibly my
Stile may appear rough and unpolish'd, which
the courteous Reader I hope will a little ex-
cuse, expecting no other from a blunt Seaman,
acquainted with nothing so much as Dangers
and Storms, yet I do profess I have Penn'd this
Narrative with all the sincerity and truth, that
becomes a plain-dealing *English-man*: My de-
sign and aim in all (kind Country-man and
courteous Reader) is, to excite with me thy praises
to our God the only deliverer, who hath de-
livered me from a cruel and severe Captivity,
and withal to stir up thy grateful resentments,
for the happiness, peace and freedom, that
thou enjoyest under so excellent and well
tempered a Government, but most especially
to move thy pitty for the afflictions of *Joseph*,
to excite thy compassionate regard to those
poor Country-men now Languishing in mi-
sery and Irons, to endeavour their releasment
according to thy power, at least by impor-
tuning

(27)

tuning Heaven, that during their Captivity
God would support them with his Grace, to
bear patiently their afflictions, and to resist
all Temptations until in his good appointed
time, he vouchsafe them a happy deliverance,
Amen.

F I N I S.
